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CHICANO STUDENT ACTIVISTS: ONE SEGMENT OF EMERGING BROWN POWER

by

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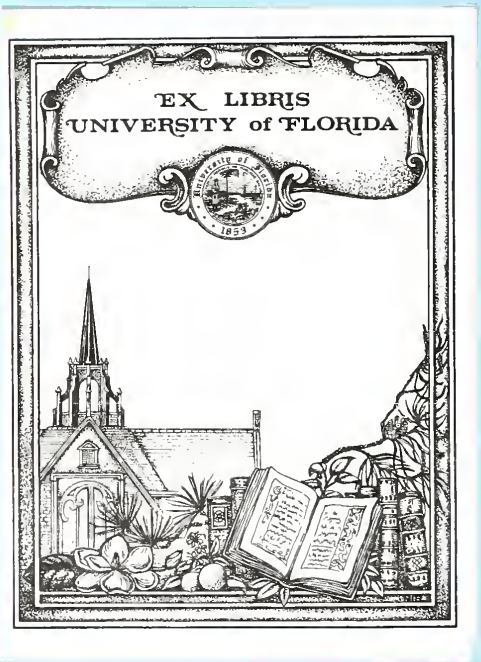
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CHICANO STUDENT ACTIVISTS: ONE SEGMENT OF EMERGING BROWN POWER *

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Introduction

A widely held myth asserts that Mexican-Americans are politically incompetent, complacent, and inactive. In fact, Mexican-Americans possess an historically rich and militant political tradition that has had deep and profound influence on American institutions, especially in the Southwest (McWilliams 1949; Romano 1968; Forbes n.d.). Mexican-American political aggressiveness has increased since World War II. In large measure this has been stimulated by the changing situation of Mexican-Americans in the United States. Since 1940, as a result of their participation in the armed forces in World War II, Korea, and Viet Nam hundreds of thousands of Mexican-Americans have been exposed to the world and to American society and culture outside of their barrios in the Southwest. Mexican-Americans are becoming increasingly urbanized, middle class, and American born (Moore and Cuellar 1970). Still, the vast majority are poor or lower class. Mexican-American barrios are the ghettos of the Southwest. Mexican-Americans have become increasingly sensitive to their low status in American society and their current political agitation is in response to the factors which maintain this status.

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One of the most recent manifestations of Mexican-American political activity has been its radicalization, especially as exemplified by the Chicano Movement. This movement challenges both the assumptions of older Mexican-American political leaders and the basic tenets of American politics. The movement views American institutions as oppressive. The goal of the Chicano Movement is to alleviate this oppression, by one means or another. The Chicano Movement is working hard to develop a base of brown power in order to achieve this goal.

Politics has been defined as competition for resources, and power as the control of resources, human, material, and ideological. Mexican-American political groups do not control vast amounts of material resources -- money, goods, property, -- and thus lack the influence which accompanies the control of such resources. However, they are developing their human and ideological resources. Chicano activist groups are marshalling support among the Mexican-American population at large for the goals they seek; they are also developing extensive support networks composed of a variety of Mexican-American political organizations. A new and influential ideology is emerging and provides meaning for this resurgent Mexican-American political activity. This is the ideology of chicanismo. Chicanismo augments and complements the values and beliefs intrinsic to the symbols La Raza and La Causa, the ideological foundations of Mexican-American political activity of the previous generation. Chicanismo is the basis of the value and belief system which underlies the Chicano Movement. At the forefront of chicano activism in many areas of the Southwest and elsewhere are chicano student activist groups. They are symptomatic of the revitalization and radicalism of Mexican-American political activity in the United States.

Chicano Student Activist Groups: The Overview

Chicano student groups are active in all the Southwestern states as well as in other areas of the United States, especially in the urban belt along the Southern shores of Lake Michigan from Milwaukee to Gary, Indiana. In California alone there are over 50 such groups (La Verdad 1969:8). They currently embrace students at all levels of education above the primary, and at least in San Diego the Mexican-American Youth Association (MAYA) is attempting to organize 5th and 6th graders into a political force to agitate for changes in their schools. Most chicano student activist groups have organized within the last five or six years. In large measure this has been in response to the abuses to which chicanos are subject in the schools. It is because of these abuses that chicano student activists have dedicated themselves to change and reform the educational institutions in which they participate. A more recent concern of student activists is for the general improvement of social and economic conditions within the barrio, the chicano community. Both concerns are indicative of a developing nationalism among these activist groups and their leadership.

The stimuli for the development of student activist groups as with chicano political agitation generally comes from several quarters. The anti-poverty programs of the 1960's, the civil rights and student movements generally, and the Viet Nam War have certainly been significant. Chicano student activists in San Diego disagree with the influence of the anti-poverty program upon their activism. This is largely indicative of their disappointment with anti-poverty programs in improving the socioeconomic condition of Mexican-Americans. Regardless, the initiation and implementation of anti-poverty programs demanded participation and involvement of local people and organization. In this way,

they provided a forum for bringing Mexican-Americans together in a more unified way to confront the factors in American society which create their problems -- job discrimination, inadequate education, racism, and so forth. Certainly, the involvement of some individuals and groups in these programs generated conflicts which on occasion tended to factionalize Mexican-American groups over particular issues. But they have also provided a base for the expansion of Mexican-American political agitation into areas where it was previously insignificant. For example, there are disagreements over how best to achieve changes in the education of Mexican-American children. In San Diego such disagreements were occasionally divisive. But they also brought a concerted effort of varying sorts against the inferior education of chicano youth and promoted change in the schools which otherwise may not have been forthcoming.

In 1970 in Southeastern Wisconsin, Mexican-American student activist groups formed coalitions with Black and Indian activist groups in order to acquire certain goals, such as ethnic studies programs on University of Wisconsin campuses. In the Southwest the formation of inter-ethnic coalitions has not been so prevalent. Blacks are not as numerous in the Southwest; Indians are culturally and spatially separate from the Mexican-American population. The Mexican-American population is also sufficiently large, as it is not in the Midwest, to provide support, both direct and indirect, to chicano political organizations which represent their interests.

Chicano student activists have also been sensitive to the role of Mexican-Americans in the Viet Nam War. Because of their low status they, along with blacks, were more likely to get drafted and sent to Viet Nam than Anglos. Mexican-American soldiers also suffered among the highest causalty rate pro-

portionate to their numbers in American society, and in Viet Nam of the American ethnic groups serving there (La Verdad 1968). Why, the student activists ask, are we fighting in Viet Nam to acquire rights for foreigners in a foreign land which we cannot acquire for ourselves here at home? Frequent demonstrations in protest against the Viet Nam War were held throughout the Southwest. In Wisconsin they emerged with the Cambodian Spring of 1970. Wherever such demonstrations developed among chicanos, they were most often organized by student activist groups.

There are also powerful and recent developments among Mexican-Americans with which the students identify and that provide a basis for political support and agitation. The recent farmworker strike at Delano, California under Ceasar Chavez has been of paramount importance for chicano activism generally. The boycott of table grapes in most instances was led and organized in local communities by Chicano and sympathetic Anglo students. The walkouts in the schools of East Los Angeles in March of 1968 of several thousand chicano students in protest of poor educational conditions offered a model that is being acted out increasingly by chicano students. The subsequent arrest of the thirteen chicanos who organized the Los Angeles walkouts on the absurd charge conspiring to perpetuate a conspiracy brought home the need to organize politically and stimulated the growth of Chicano student activist groups.

The Alianza movement in New Mexico led by Reis Tijerina and especially, the Crusade for Justice, a distinctly nationalistic movement, organized in Denver, by Rudolfo "Corky" Gonzalez, an articulate and charismatic chicano, have become particularly influential among chicano youth. The Crusade stresses chicano beauty and pride and autonomy from the dominant Anglo culture through

control at the barrio level of schools, economic institutions and the like. More recently chicano activism has spread through than San Joaquin Valley and its lettuce fields and as far away as the migrant worker camps of Wisconsin.

One of the most important considerations regarding the role of chicano student activist groups is their increasing integration with and influence upon other Mexican American political organizations. Student activists tend to cross cut the membership of many of these organizations. In this way they have brought their viewpoints into effective competition with older leaders of the chicano community. Chicano activists have rejected the politics of adaptation to American power interests. They have infused these organizations and their leadership with a youthful vitality. They have complemented the older leaders of the chicano community; in some instances they have replaced them and provided new leadership. On occasion this has fostered factionalism among chicano political organizations. More significant is the unity which has developed among groups in a wider sphere that are working for similar goals and developing a more united front that existed previously.

In Wisconsin chicano student and other activist groups have agitated increasingly for Mexican-American civil rights, against police brutality, for job opportunity, for better housing, better education, improved conditions for migrant workers in Wisconsin, and so forth. In 1969 and 1970 student activists on the campus of the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee agitated for a more efficient outreach program and a chicano studies program. Chicano activist groups composed in large number of students conducted a march from Milwaukee to Madison protesting the plight of farm workers in Wisconsin and the problems the urban Mexican-American community faced generally. Many of

these goals have yet to be fully realized. But the chicanos are being heard from.

Symbols and ideologies are important in supporting and providing meaning for chicano political activity. Old symbols and ideologies are undergoing adjustment and new ones, which complement the growth of student activist groups especially, are developing. Chicanismo is the currently emerging ideology around which chicanos are rallying.

Chicanismo argues for either a better shake for chicanos within American society -- better jobs, housing, education, and so forth -- or alternatives to participation within the institutions of American society. One such alternative that is frequently spoken of is local control of barrio schools.

Chicanismo is expressed in a variety of ways and symbols and has augmented, and to some great extent superceded, the symbolic concepts of La Raza and La Causa with which almost all chicanos identify. The ideology which underlies chicanismo symbolizes a people within the American cultural tradition who are uniting for the purpose of obtaining rights and freedoms guaranteed by the founding ideology of the United States and from which they have in large measure been excluded. Whether these rights and freedoms are gained within or outside of the institutional framework of the United States often seems of secondary concern.

The symbols which support chicanismo suggest that the stereotyped image many Anglos have of Mexican-Americans as complacent and slothful mestizos must be altered. The names by which chicano student activist organizations identify themselves, such as MASA, MAYA, MASC, UMAS, MAYO, and others are euphimistic acronyms which frequently symbolize their Mexican heritage. At the same time these groups maintain their identity within a national culture through the

common use of the term Mexican-American in their formal names, such as The Mexican-American Student Association (MASA), the Mexican-American Student Organization (MASO), and the Mexican-American Youth Association (MAYA).

Ubiquitous buttons showing a stylized eagle and proclaiming HUELGA, and BOYCOTT GRAPES, important causes of a few years ago, and, more recently, Viva La Causa, Chicano Power, and so forth spot the lapels, berets and pockets of many chicanos, young and old. The beards and long hair typical of student activists generally are becoming common among chicanos, at least in some areas of the Southwest, and tend to dispell the stereotype of machismo. Many young chicanos feel that the stereotype of machismo contains derogatory implications and is overstressed as a blanket explanation for aspects of adult male conduct which is not exclusive to Mexican-Americans (Maloney 1968). "Have you even watched a bunch of Anglo studs standing on a corner ogling the girls and scratching themselves? What makes us macho and them not?" a chicano student asked me. Clearly, machismo represents a negative symbol for chicano activists. Other symbols derived from Mexican culture are, however, quite significant.

As with the titular acronyms of so many student activist groups, the ideology of chicanismo harks back to Mexico and its revolutionary past. Emiliano Zapata, the peasant revolutionary has become symbolic of the struggle of the chicano in the United States. Zapata's picture against a crimson background is common on posters and buttons. Zapata bigotes, massive moustaches which curl downward around the corners of the mouth, are worn by many of the young men. Even the national flag of Mexico provides a symbol for this growing chicano unity and nationalism.

The Aztec culture of ancient Mexico has provided another source of rich symbols of chicano identity. "Aztlan," the symbolic homeland of the Aztecs, has been heralded as the utopian ideal of a "free" chicano society. The national seal of Mexico, the eagle on a cactus with a serpent in its mouth, derives from Aztec mythology and provides yet another symbol of growing chicano unity, militancy, and nationalism. Still other symbols of chicanismo have been provided by the Cuban Revolution and the career of Che Guevara. Among many young activists the Cuban experience and Che epitomize the overthrow by kindred peoples of regimes based upon oppression and exploitation.

This is the ideology of chicanismo: a pride in a rich Mexican cultural heritage; identity with the causes of oppressed peoples; anger at the racism in American society, police brutality, inequality, lack of opportunity, and disgust at what often seems to be the programmed deculturalization of Mexican-American children in the schools. The Chicano Movement is militant and nascently revolutionary. The Brown Berets perhaps represent the best overt symbol of this militancy. The Berets are an activist youth group with paramilitary overtones. They are styled in part after the image of Che Guevara and in part after the Black Panthers. Despite this emerging nationalism chicano activism has been characterized, at least up to the present, by non-violent tactics. Rather, chicano student activist groups seem dedicated to expanding their power base by uniting into larger support networks.

One recent meeting of chicano student activists was sponsored by the Crusade for Justice in Denver. Some 1500 members of La Raza from around the nation convened to debate the role of the chicano in American society and to develop a plan of action to improve their collective status. There were disagreements between young and old, students and non-students, leftists from

Berkeley and more conservative chicano radicals from other areas; there were also severe but relatively unreported confrontations with the Denver police. Still, a general consortium was agreed upon. Out of this meeting emerged the Plan de Aztlan, a declaration of the spiritual independence of La Raza from American national culture. The Plan is predicated upon the peregrination myth of the Aztecs and claims the Southwest generally as the homeland of the Aztecs and thus the rightful homeland of La Raza. The validity of this claim is not the issue here. The Plan represents an ideological and symbolic validation of Chicano nationalism, a movement which claims an indeterminate but vast number of chicanos.

In May, 1969 representatives of chicano student activist groups from throughout California met in Santa Barbara and organized MECHA, Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan. MECHA symbolizes the unity and purpose of all chicano groups in California. The hope of MECHA is to eventually phase out all local chicano activist groups and unify them into one coordinated movement, the Chicano Movement. Since then the Chicano Student Confederation of the Southwest has organized, and a loose brotherhood of Students of La Raza has been formed at the national level.

The fact that chicano student activist groups have not been as visible as similar groups among, for example, blacks is perhaps more the fault of the poor press they receive than from any lack of action. In San Diego in 1968 and 1969 chicano student agitation was generally ignored by local communication media. On Mother's Day, 1969, over 1000 Mexican-Americans paraded in San Diego for chicano civil rights and against the Viet Nam War. No mention was made of this event either on San Diego television or radio, or in local newspapers. Marches and demonstration of even larger size and for similar reasons

have been held in Los Angeles. These too were largely ignored and went unreported. Even the occasional instances in which violent confrontations took place with police received only slight notice. It's curious that in Wisconsin the march of 1970 from Milwaukee to Madison received much better coverage than similar events in the Southwest. Obviously, in the Southwest Mexican-American pacifism is taken for granted. Also obvious is the fact that the Mexican-American population is one of America's truly invisible minorities.

As noted earlier, chicano political activists do not have at their disposal an abundance of power by which to pursue their goals. They have been somewhat successful in developing strategies around which the Mexican-American population can rally. Increasingly student activist groups, separately or unison with other chicano organizations, are confronting economic, political, and educational institutions of American society and effecting changes in them. One example of such a chicano student activist groups and its attempt to develop a power base is provided by the Mexican-American Youth Association of San Diego, California (MAYA).

MAYA: The Mexican-American Youth Association of San Diego, California

The prejudices that Mexican-American children confront in American schools and the low quality of the education they receive is well documented (Manuel 1965; Sanchez 1966; Forbes n.d.; Gebler 1967; Samora and Lamanna 1967; Swadesh 1968). In San Diego, the area with which the author is most familiar, there are a few model elementary schools with programs designed to cope with language and cultural background chicanos bring into the school. However, most of the complaints so often voiced against the type of education chicano

youth receive are also found in many other schools in San Diego.

In San Diego attitudes of counselors, administrators, teachers, and principals are frequently insensitive to or prejudiced against the special educational needs of Mexican-American children. Achievement and I.Q. tests are biased in favor of middle class Anglo youth and culture. Most chicanos do considerably worse on the tests than Anglos. A commonly held attitude among educators with whom I spoke is that the poor performance of chicano students is due to an inferior intelligence inherited from their parents. "After all," one principal told me, "when a kid's parents and grandparents have spent all their lives picking tomatoes, what kind of intelligence are kids supposed to acquire from that kind of seed?" The fact that parents of most children in San Diego schools worked at urban jobs and that many had never worked as field hands did not occur to him. It is also commonly believed and attributed to a distinct Mexican-American genotype that chicano students are very good with their hands and make excellent craftsmen. The result is that most chicano students in San Diego schools are tracked into vocational courses in high school.

At the elementary level special classes, or more aphoristically, EMR (Educationally Mentally Retarded) classes, serve as another reservoir to gather in children victimized by these prejudices. Craft activities are stressed in EMR classes. EMR classes do instruct a few genuinely mentally retarded children, but they primarily serve as catch-alls for children who, in the barrios of San Diego, are almost exclusively chicano and for a variety of reasons other than mental retardation are unable to achieve in regular class work.

Another technique which affects chicano youth is the social pass. The

social pass places all children in the 7th grade at age thirteen, and tracks those who are forced into this position from grades below the 6th into EMR classes at the junior high school level. Until quite recently, once a student was tracked into an EMR class his chance of being tracked out of it was quite slim. The result is that a considerable number of chicano students are graduated from high school who are unable to read, write, or speak English, much less proper Spanish. For this achievement they receive a special class diploma.

The drop-out rate is, of course, abnormally high for chicano students. And it might be higher than the statistics suggest. This is due to the practice in some districts in San Diego of automatically enrolling a drop-out into night school programs which the student may or may not attend. In this way students are not recorded as drop-outs, but simply as transfers.

These prejudices affect chicano students in a variety of other ways. Qualified Mexican American teachers seem to be in notoriously short supply. Still, the patronizing viewpoint promulgated by the attitude of educators inhibit them from taking advantage of ones that are available. In one school district in San Diego whose school population is 83% Mexican-American the administration refused to hire six qualified Mexican-American teachers because, as the superintendent told me, "They'd be too hard on the kids and expect too much out of them." Even though federal aid is available for educational programs to serve minority students, the prejudices of educators frequently obstruct any enthusiasm for implementing them. Programs which may be implemented, such as English as a Second Language or Bilingual Education Programs are frequently understaffed and maintained indefinitely as pilot projects. Thus they serve only a few of the students who might be aided.

The schools generally attribute the persistent failure of Mexican-American youth to innate inabilities inherent in Mexican-Americans and not to any shortcomings inherent in the schools. To reaffirm these prejudices educators point to the achievement of Anglos out of ethnically mixed schools. Chicano student activists are becoming aware that as long as these assumptions go unchallenged the possibility of upgrading the schools is slight.

MAYA was organized in response to these and other problems at San Diego State College and a junior college in the area in the fall of 1967. At its inception the MAYA chapter at San Diego State had about seven participating members. By the spring of 1969 this chapter had grown to a membership of 120, with 52 actually paying dues. As a result of prostelyzing missions other MAYA chapters were organized at two other junior colleges, three high schools and the University of California at San Diego, a total of eight schools.

MAYA leadership ~~generally~~ is rather diffuse. The MAYA chapter at San Diego State College has been the most active in the area. Yet it lacks a strong authority figure who can compel compliance in all cases of suggested action. One individual who had some success in acquiring a following among MAYA students at San Diego State was a highly regarded poet, and he exudes some charisma. He is also explosive and emotional. Some MAYA activists feel that the associations needs a more calculating and efficient leadership.

San Diego State MAYA chapter is advised by empathetic faculty, but they generally remain in the background and prefer to let the students implement strategies and tactics. MAYA activists from San Diego State frequently act as advisors to chapters in other schools, especially at the secondary level. The structure of leadership represented in MAYA is indicative of all chicano student activist groups in California. There is simply no dynamic and co-

ordinated leadership for these groups, such as "Corky" Gonzalez provides in Denver and Reis Tijerina has provided in New Mexico.

Each MAYA chapter has a board of officers, president, vice-president, and so forth. Consensus is sought at meetings for issues, such as whether or not to support a political candidate. If the decision is favorable, a strategy to effect this goal will be hammered out in the meeting. Strategies to which MAYA are generally dedicated, such as the special penchant of San Diego State MAYA activists for organizing other chicano students, especially in high schools, do not seem to be guided by any special directives. Individuals involved in this activity in different areas of San Diego occasionally report on progress made and problems confronted. However, when a problem emerges in a school that MAYA may be able to capitalize upon, then the activists are able to mobilize quickly and make their presence felt. MAYA activists from San Diego State have provided direction to students for demonstration in area schools which protest educational policies. In some instances MAYA activists have been banned from high school campuses and MAYA chapters in these high schools have been dissolved by school administration. Students in one high school were prohibited from wearing chicano buttons and other symbols, such as brown berets. This provoked an incident. In such cases, MAYA activists on high school campuses simply go underground. Still, any overarching leadership which would provide coordinated direction for such activities seems to be lacking. This may prove debilitating in the future. Currently MAYA activists take advantage of propitious circumstances to expand their influence and support and respond to situations as expedience dictates. Even without strong leadership MAYA activists do seem to get the job done.

Most MAYA students came from poor, at best moderate income backgrounds and were working to put themselves through college. Many MAYA students aspired to high status professions, such as doctors and lawyers. Almost all expressed a commitment to work with and for their people.

Many were not quite sure how they had made it through the school system. Most were bitter about their experiences in the schools and over the ways their education was designed to de-mexicanize them. Some ways were subtle, such as ignoring or demeaning the role of Mexicans in American history; others were more brutal, such as prohibiting the speaking of Spanish during school hours. All were angry over the vast numbers of their class-mates who had dropped out of school in frustration. They empathized with the drop-outs and blamed the schools for this human attrition and waste. Most also deplored the chicanos who got through the school system and then turned their backs on the Mexican-American community. Some were involved in another Mexican-American organization in San Diego which was dedicated to bringing back into the barrio the resources, skills and knowledge of those "successful" few who had fled the barrio and ignored the plight of their people. Often these relationships made for strange political bedfellows. Upon returning, such expatriates were almost always too conservative for student taste. Emotional, intellectual, and political divorce was always a threat. Increasingly, however, they seem to be working together.

Consider for a moment The San Diego Chicano Federation which was formed in 1968. It is an organization composed of almost all the Mexican-American political groups in San Diego County. MAYA students comprised by far the most militant membership. Their militancy turned off some of the older, more respectable Mexican-American politicos who were committed to work within the

system and not to change it as MAYA wished to do. Perhaps the most significant fact in this curious merger is that despite their differences the Mexican-Americans continued to work together. The divisiveness for which Mexican-American politics is famous did not develop. While not all groups associated with the federation agree with the radical methods proposed by the students, almost all seem to agree with the goals. They are goals largely based upon the ideology of chicanismo. The major dividing line between approaches is over to what extent Mexican-Americans will continue to work within the system, or, as with other ethnic militant groups, seek some autonomy from it.

In 1972 when I last visited San Diego, some older Mexican-Americans lamented the fact that the "radicals", student and others, had taken over the leadership of the Chicano Federation. Still, all agreed that the federation was stimulating changes and had become a political force in San Diego. Older members seemed to lament most the loss of "respect" they felt the organization had suffered in the eyes of the San Diego community at large. Even though some older members feel uncomfortable in the federation, chicano unity has become too important to them and they remain affiliated, if somewhat marginally, with the federation. Conversely, it also seems that their wisdom is frequently heeded by the activists, especially when they are extolled to go slower lest they lose perspective and sight of their goals.

MAYA has had considerable success in developing rapport with school dropouts and other "undesirable" elements, such as addicts and young chicanos with criminal records. Such individuals have had some success in counseling potential dropouts in the San Diego area. The word they now spread is, "Don't drop out. Stay in and organize." Such organization has begun to pay off for

the activists.

For the past few years a variety of chicano ad hoc committees and student activist organizations in the San Diego area have been trying to obtain improved education for Mexican-Americans. MAYA has been influential in the direction taken by these organizations. These groups warned the San Diego School District that unless its policy regarding the education of minority students changed they could expect trouble. In the winter of 1968 and spring of 1969 trouble erupted in several schools in the area. Riots, arrests, knifings, and walkouts by chicano and black students protesting educational conditions spread among schools and culminated in a three day student strike at San Diego High School. Such problems with black students were not uncommon. It was the first time the "complacent" Mexican-American students rumbled. The San Diego school board at this point was presented a list of twenty-two demands for educational reform. These are slowly being implemented.

Such agitation is an anethema to educational as well as other institutions. Schools in the San Diego area have begun to respond to the large concerns which the Chicano Movement has expressed. EMR programs are being reevaluated. I.Q. tests designed to test the intelligence of children of Mexican descent and culture are coming into use. In one school district in San Diego the retesting of chicano EMR students with such tests resulted in the return of over 50% of the students to regular classes. Schools in which Mexican-American children are numerous are now likely to employ bilingual teachers in bilingual education projects. Such projects are in most cases the direct result of chicano agitation.

Conclusions

The evidence from San Diego and other areas suggests that the notion of Mexican-Americans as politically complacent and inactive is going to have to be reconsidered. National Mexican-American organizations, such as MAPA and the G.I. Forum, are attempting to expand their membership and influence. Politically active local groups in a number of chicano communities around the nation are merging forces to confront American institutions and to demand alterations in the status quo. Student activists are in the forefront of many of these movements and involved in most others. Whether these activist groups and the influence they currently exert persist will remain to be seen. The Viet Nam War is over; the anti-poverty program is defunct: civil rights movements are in a state of abeyance; students everywhere are rather quiet. Most chicano student activist groups emerged in response to the turmoil of the 1960's. The character of the 1970's is certainly going to be different. Regardless, such groups have already made a significant impression upon the fabric of Mexican-American political activity and as such represent a significant segment of the Brown Power movement still emerging in the United States.

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